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BOOK REVIEWS

The Evolution of Modern Germany. By William Harbutt Dawson. (London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: Scribner's. 1909. Pp. xvi, 503.)

Treating of economic facts and factors, this book is nevertheless of considerable interest to students of politics, in that it attempts to furnish a reason for recent movements in German political life, based on a more rational foundation than mere "jingoism" and the noise of many "rooters." Ironic in tone and temper, the work of Mr. Dawson, himself an Englishman, should furnish a sedative for the hysteria of many of his countrymen, who regard every healthy move on the part of Germany as a threat against British peace and quiet, and hence part of a deep, dark, devilish design.

Mr. Dawson has the advantage of view-point. He is looking at things from the inside. His long residence within the German Empire and his familiarity with things German have enabled him to appreciate the situation in which that country finds itself and thus to avoid a lop-sided judgment. While his book contains, perhaps, little that is new, it is clearly put, eminently sane in its conclusions, and his statements are supported by a wealth of statistics.

For the student of politics the main interest of Mr. Dawson's volume centers in the seventeenth chapter, to which the rest of the book is, in a way, incidental. The thesis which Mr. Dawson aims to establish may be roughly stated thus: The old dictum of Bismarck, to the effect that Germany is a "satiated" state and needs no further expansion, is exploded. "The populations of Western Europe are already outgrowing their geographical and economic limits, and it is recognized that their capacity for expansion depends on the opening up of new and receptive markets in other parts of the world, in which manufactures may be exchanged for food,—the products of industry for the produce of the soil. These considerations, amongst others, have widened the old formulas and transformed European policy into world-policy, and in accepting the new order of ideas Germany is simply pursuing its inevitable destiny."

The increase of population and the stress of economic conditions have been changing Germany from an agricultural into an industrial State. The main and vital question, so far as German foreign policy is concerned, is the creation and maintenance of markets abroad, especially in transoceanic countries. In seeking colonies, Germany is actuated by economic rather than political motives. To quote Paulsen "Germany has participated in the policy of expansion out of Europe,—at first modestly, of late with growing decision. The enormous increase of its industrial production and its trade compelled it to take measures for the extension and security of its over-sea interests. In the course of a single generation, Germany has worked its way into the second position in Europe. The necessity of protecting this position by a strong naval force has, during the recent decades, become a dominant factor in the political thought of the nations."

Mr. Dawson is not disturbed by the marked growth of German sentiment, even of German enthusiasm, in naval matters. He seems to view this development of interest in the sea as an evidence of a healthy and natural vigor, and he cautions his countrymen against a false and hysterical attitude toward this normal expansion on the part of the German people. Increased power does not of necessity mean increased pugnacity.

"The emperor has said in perfect good faith that 'with every new battleship another pledge for peace on earth is given.' Probably most Englishmen are quite prepared to believe that the strong German navy of the future will prove as pacific as the strong army has proved for the last thirty-seven years, yet they naturally think that Germany might have been content to keep the peace of Europe with its big battalions as before, leaving England to offer its iron clads as hostages in the same great cause. On the other hand, Germany advances the 'right to maintain the navy and the army which it requires for the maintenance of its interests.' Its position was officially restated by Prince Bülow in the Reichstag on March 24, 1908, in the following words: 'We do not dispute England's right to draw up its naval program in accordance with the standard which its responsible statesmen consider necessary for the maintenance of British world-supremacy, and similarly it cannot be taken amiss that we should build those ships which we require, nor can we be blamed for desiring that our program of naval construction should not be represented as a challenge to England.' That is the position which Germany takes on this question, and no good purpose can be served by either ignoring it or converting it into a grievance. For England, the country principally affected, the only safe and the only possible attitude lies in the calm, dispassionate, and ungrudging recognition of Germany's right to follow the policy which it thinks right and necessary."

Other chapters in the book which are of interest to the student of politics treat such subjects as The New Colonial Era, Centripetal and Centrifugal Influences, The Outlook of Socialism and The Polish Question.

Mr. Dawson's volume is a sane, scholarly treatment of a theme of genuine interest to all who are watching the great forces at work in world-politics.

B. E. H.

The Constitutional History of England. By Frederick William Maitland. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1908. Pp. xxxii, 459.)

Considering the amount of time devoted to the constitutional history of England in our colleges and universities it is a remarkable fact that no satisfactory work exists in moderate compass available as a textbook or reading-book for students. The older essays of Fischel, Fielden, Creasy, Freeman, and Boutmy are brief sketches in large part antequated. The longer works of Hallam and Taswell-Langmead, though still useful, are far from judicial in their comments and have in them too much of the history and too little of the constitution to meet presentday demands. The work of Medley is scholarly but is based on a topical plan that renders it almost useless for class purposes, while its conciseness and the formality of its style render it of little value to the general reader. No single book exists that covers the whole of English constitutional history, showing not only what the constitution is but how it came about and treating constitutional crises with scientific regard for both sides of the case. A history written in the spirit of Holdsworth's work on English law, but in more moderate compass, would be a great desideratum.

Professor Maitland's book partly fills the gap. It was written twenty years ago as a course of lectures in the University of Cambridge and without thought of publication. It was never revised or brought up to date and might well seem at first sight to be antequated before it was published. Such, however, is not the case and the work is likely